Victory! 4 of Trenton 6 free

Fight goes on to free two sentenced to life in prison

By William A. Reuben
GUARDIAN Special Correspondent

TRENTON, N. J.

THE judge said: "Motion to discharge is granted." And four innocent Americans who had lived behind bars for three years and four months —eleven of those months in the death-house, a few feet from the electric chair—walked back into the world.

An all-white jury of six women and six men had in effect marked "official" on the label affixed 2½ years ago by Left and progressive groups to the state's case against the Trenton Six. The label read: "FRAME-UP."

For 2½ years NATIONAL GUARDIAN has insisted the Six could not possibly have committed the crime for which they were all sentenced to death in 1948.

"COMPROMISE": After nearly 20 hours' deliberation, the jury in the third trial of the Six last Thursday acquitted four—including the only two charged with the actual killing. In a "compromise verdict" it recommended mercy for defendants Ralph Cooper and Collis English, who were found guilty of of murder in the first degree.

On its face the verdict was even more fantastic than any of the nine different versions the state presented of how William Horner, a white 73-year-old second-hand dealer, met his death on Jan. 27, 1948. On its face, it sends Cooper and English to prison for life for participating in a conspiracy which, the jury found, never occurred.

But the meaning of the verdict was plain. It could not possibly be interpreted as finding Cooper and English one whit more guilty than their four former co-defendants who were freed.

THE SUMMATION: In four drama-crammed days last week, beginning with the summation on Monday, all the forces and issues involved in this internationally-known case, became unmistakably clear.

The defense case was summed up for the jury on Monday in arguments that lasted ten hours. Frank S. Katzenbach 3d, court-appointed attorney for defendant McKinley Forrest in this as in the first trial, took three hours for his earnest, detailed often-rambling and falteringly-articulated plea. He did not attempt to show his client as one of a group caught like fishes in the same net, but concentrated on the state's case as it applied to Forrest.

Raymond Pace Alexander, who headed the staff of three attorneys brought into the case by the Natl. Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People 2½ years after the first conviction, argued for four hours in behalf of his defendants, Horace Wilson and John McKenzie. After both he and Katzenbach had taken an hour longer than they asked for, Alexander requested still more time at the night session. The time had previously been earmarked for George Pellettieri, attorney retained by the Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six to defend Cooper, English and James Thorpe. Alexander's request was blocked by the court when Pellettieri

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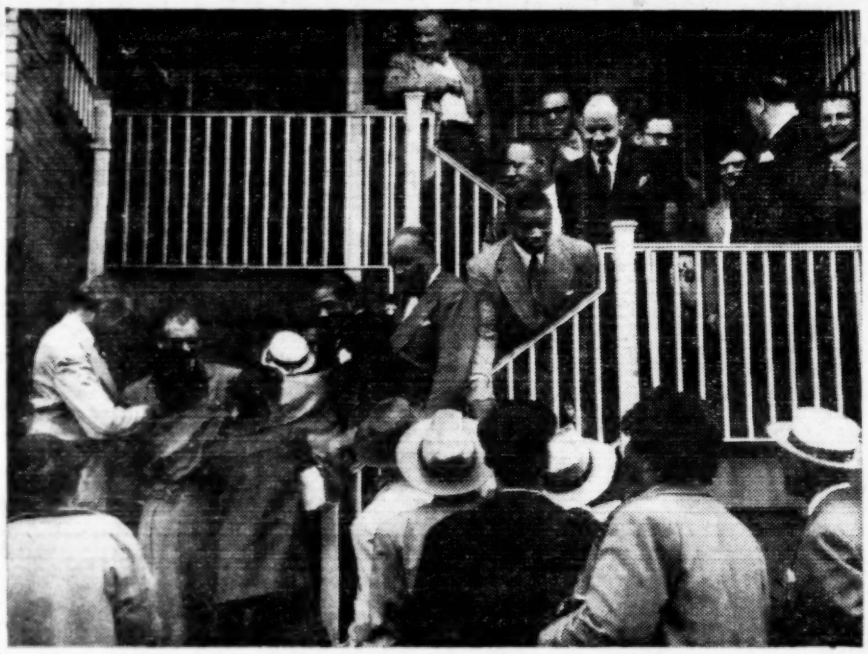

As 4 of the Trenton Six went free

This was the scene at the jail: Coming down the stairs (bottom to top) Horace Wilson, attorney J. Mercer Burrell, John McKenzie, attorney Clifford R. Moore, James Thorpe, attorney George Pellettieri (profile)

Trenton Six frameup first exposed by National Guardian

By John T. McManus

IN our issue dated October 25, 1948, NATIONAL GUARDIAN began the campaign which has now saved the lives of the Trenton Six and won freedom for four of them.

At that time the GUARDIAN was an almost unknown publication. We had published only one previous issue aside from a "preview edition" whipped together in midsummer of 1948. Our known readership was then only 7,500 paid-in-advance subscriptions. But the effect of that original story, bringing the case for the first time to the attention of the public at large outside the Trenton area, was literally that of a "shot heard round the world."

We of NATIONAL GUARDIAN deeply appreciate the opportunity which thus enabled us, in our very first month of publication, to begin to mobilize public support for the Trenton Six.

CREDIT REUBEN: We thank our lucky stars for free-lance reporter William A. Reuben, whose deep concern over the defections of the American press in the fight for civil liberties moved him to bring the Trenton case to our attention in September, 1948. Reuben's tireless and unceasing devotion to the case for all the intervening months and years is primarily responsible for the victory of last week.

His brilliant investigations and subsequent disclosures in the GUARDIAN became the basis for a reversal in June, 1949, of the original convictions. Throughout the whole period since, Reuben has virtually "lived with" the case, not only as a reporter but as an active and most effective participant in the campaign to set the victims free and punish the New Jersey officials for attempting to take the lives of six innocent Negroes by frame-up.

THE story of the Trenton Six is not only a damning indictment of notorious "Jersey Justice"; it is even more damning an indictment of the commercial press of America, which suppressed the story for a full year after the arrest of the Six until the GUARDIAN finally forced the facts of the case out into the open.

When Reuben's first story on the case appeared, we sent marked copies and accompanying press releases to major N.Y. daily papers and press services, including the N.Y. **Times** and **Herald Tribune**, the **Associated Press** and **United Press.** All these noted agencies of the self-styled "free press" have had their own correspondents in Trenton for many years, but none found the accusations of injustice against six Negro men worthy of so much as a line of type.

EUROPE TO U.S.: However, the original GUARDIAN story, with its headline over two pages reading: IS THERE A 'SCOTTSBORO CASE' IN TRENTON, N. J.? was picked up by two newspapers abroad, **Reynolds News** in London and **Action** in Paris. Foreign correspondents of the U.S. press and press services wired the story back home.

In that way—and not through local editors or correspondents in Trenton for these "free press" institutions—the Trenton case finally broke into print.

THE N.Y. **Times** printed its first story on the case on Jan. 27, 1949—which ran in early editions but was later yanked out for a local story of similar length. The **Herald Tribune** continued to ignore the story. **AP,** queried on the case by member papers throughout the country at the requests of GUARDIAN readers, informed U.S. editors that the case was not one of injustice but of Communist agitation. The **Times** sent a star reporter to Trenton at about the same time. His verdict (in an unpublished report while the case was before the N.J. Supreme Court on appeal) was that the Six were all guilty —three of the actual holdup and murder, three of acting as lookouts—and that Communists were using the case for agitation purposes. However, three radio commentators — Arthur Gaeth, Drew Pearson and Don Hollenbeck—

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THE CELEBRATION AT THE ENGLISH HOME
L. to r.: Horace Wilson, McKinley Forrest, Vera Straus, (McKenzie's sister). Center foreground: Mrs. Emma English. To her left, McKinley Forrest with his daughter Jean. Others are friends and relatives

Progressive Party hails the Guardian's role

In a statement hailing the Trenton verdict as an outstanding victory for civil rights, but urging renewed public pressure and support for an appeal to free the two remaining defendants, Progressive Party Chairman Elmer A. Benson and Secy. C. B. Baldwin said:

The retrial and the verdict would never have been won without the unselfish efforts and single-minded devotion to justice of thousands of American citizens, both Negro and white, who are determined to wipe out the shameful inequality of treatment of Negroes in our courts and in our civilization.

Great credit in leading this fight must go to Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis English, the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, the Civil Rights Congress, and the Princeton Committee to Free the Trenton Six, of which James Imbrie, Chairman of the Progressive Party of New Jersey, was a leading organizer, as well as to the attorneys for the defendants who gave unstintingly of their time and effort to save these men.

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THE MAIL BAG

The mills of God

ASTORIA, ORE.

The Pharisees have not changed since the time of Saint James. "Do not rich men oppress you and draw you before judgment seats?" (James 2:6). And again in James 5:6, "You have condemned the just."

What happened to the 11 condemned Communists was not done by the Supreme Court alone. It was done also by the false testimony of editors, cartoonists, etc., throughout the nation. Their condemners were aware that at no time in their long trial was it shown that any of these men had ever advocated overthrow of the government by force and violence.

I wonder how it feels for the ones who sentenced them, and the editors, etc., who put in their two cents worth, to sit down to breakfast with their families, knowing that these men, whose only crime is loving humanity, are separated from their families by prison bars. Perhaps the condemners of the innocent will not go out into the desert and take their own lives, but somewhere, somehow, they will pay for what they have done.

"Though the mills of God grind slowly,
Yet they grind exceeding small;
Though with patience He stands waiting,
With exactness grinds He all."
(Longfellow.) Reader

Support for Johnson

JAMAICA, N. Y.

The Johnson Proposition is the best thing to come out of the Senate in several years. After the so-called "victory" over six trillion Chinese troops, we are again faced with reports of "heavy artillery fire," "stiff resistance," and a press "blackout." This proposal is not perfect, but it is a start. I hope every peace-lover (every human being) will support it. Human life, whether yellow Chinese or white American, is precious.

George H. Redding Jr.

The REAL Guardian

BERWYN, PA.

Recently my subscription to the Manchester Guardian expired and when notified of this I replied:

"I have often heard it stated that the M.G. is the greatest liberal paper in the world, and I'm not sure but what there is some truth in this; but as far as I am concerned the 'liberals' everywhere have practically all turned conservative and are frantically trying to outdo the reactionaries in red-baiting all progressive movements, and beating the war drums.

"The Manchester Guardian's viewpoint on world affairs is almost identical with that of about 90% of the papers and periodicals in the U.S.A., so there doesn't seem to be much point in sending all the way across the Atlantic to receive the same kind of misinformation. We have a real guardian in this country — the NATIONAL GUARDIAN, a workingman's paper; a paper which represents and is the mouthpiece for all the people who are working for a better world, a world free of wars and special privilege."

C. Donald Woodward

Tickled pink

BEND, ORE.

The davenport arrived a short time ago. It is all you said it was and then some. We are very pleased with it. Tickled pink, in fact, because we were able to successfully purchase, via long distance and through the Guardian Buying Service, an article unseen. We hope the sale reverted in some measure in benefits to your admirable paper.

Morris Trost

"An open violation"

MONTEZUMA, IOWA

The American soldiers dying in Korea are asking: "Of what value is the Bill of Rights to me?"

Conscription is an open violation of the Constitution of the U.S. The founders of our country specified in black and white what powers could be exercised by the government. They had no intention of giving Congress the power of conscription, and would be shocked today to see men and boys clubbed into being soldiers. If the American people felt duty bound to establish conscription they should save their moral face by having conscription written into the Constitution by an amendment, which would automatically erase the Bill of Rights. Mrs. Lucy B. Dexter

No more babies?

PLANT CITY, FLA.

Let all young married couples sign a pledge not to bring any more children into the world until our government begins to show signs that it really wants peace and begins to take measures to bring it about. Perhaps when the war lords realize that they will be deprived of the next generation of young men and women to feed into their war machines they will try to find a way to peace. Palmer Wall

He couldn't resist

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In your editorial of June 6 you feature these words: "We're fighting —are you?" Not being able to resist the challenge I am enclosing $5. I cannot do better in carrying on the fight for peace than to contribute to the fightingest paper of them all. Jack Brigel

A Tennessee waltz

MARYVILLE, TENN.

Enclosed is check for $10 to cover 5 more subs. The GUARDIAN is magnificent and we want it to continue. Howard and Helen Parsons

Cannon fodder vs. Costello

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I will certainly have plenty to say when my time comes. I am one of those people who is not going to let a few narrow-minded, money-hungry devils from the pits of Hell tell me how to die and live. I feel more than equal to any rotten officials of this country. God made men equal and I cannot see why the "cannon fodder" today feel they "have to go" because some graft-ridden organizations called the Pentagon and the White House tell them to. They deport many fine young men to go and kill others equal to them and let the real demoralizers such as Costello and Anastasia enjoy the Florida sun.

Wade H. Lockey

18 years on oleo

LEESVILLE, LA.

Farmer Algot Nelson doesn't like your recommending oleomargarine. Well; I have eaten it exclusively—no butter—for 18 years, left it uncolored and found the taste good, and have had excellent health all along. In Nov., 1930, I paid only nine cents a pound, a few months later 14 cents, and soon after 21 cents. The tax made most of the difference, with or without coloring. I say keep on recommending oleo. Nobody is forbidden to buy butter. A. James McDonald

And how!

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Isn't it time the public did something about the expiration of rent control on June 30?

Florence H. Luscomb

Memo for 1952

JERSEYVILLE, ILL.

Back in 1944 when a great many were overseas fighting Hitlerism, the twin evil of Taftism, some senators and congressmen then as now on the government payroll did all in their power to prevent them from getting a full and legal ballot. I urge all readers to become better informed as to the identity of these legislators. The names of Taft, Dewey, Bricker and Hoover are recommended as subjects for investigation. Leslie Knight

Mighty fit to print

CHICAGO, ILL.

The following is the text of a letter I sent to the N.Y. Times turning down their special offer of 78 issues for $3.

"Unfortunately your newspaper can be duplicated in any city of size in the U.S. You are doing more than your share to undermine and change the character of the American pepole from its naturally healthy and humanitarian bent to the Nazi mold of complacently accepting 'Operation Killer' (including the incinerating of children, the aged, mothers and babies) as normal to their life and in fact something glorious.

"Gentlemen, I am thankful that I can still pat the head of my child without feeling the need of a stiff drink to keep down the heart-clutching feeling of guilt that I sanction the human butchery and burning of a small country and her people.

"By protesting I still get a breath of clean spring-time air that papers like yours are so relentlessly poisoning for America.

"I remain a humanitarian and consider Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass' more modern (and, thank God, more permanently decisive) than today's or tomorrow's editions of your paper." Robert Scott

Willie McGee memorial

SALEM, ORE.

The Progressive Party of Oregon has sent a sustaining monthly pledge of $5 for a "Willie McGee Memorial Fund" to the CRC, 23 W. 26th St., N.Y.C., and we urge all Progressive clubs to do likewise.

Rosemary Luck

China and us

WARWICK, R.I.

The only way to settle this war in Korea and the one we try to become involved in, in China, is to deal with that established government, whether it is Communist or Lot. We lost China by our own blundering in that affair. If we had given support to the People's Republic, we would have gained the respect and confidence of the Chinese people of all sides. Our loss was Russia's gain. There is the correct answer to all this mess we are now in. James Rooney

Gratefully recorded

CHICAGO, ILL.

At a meeting last Tuesday we had gathered $10 and resolved that $5 will go your way. It is not much but poor people can't contribute much. S. G. Silbrot

Shoeless ice breaker

JEFFERSONVILLE, IND.

Here in Jeffersonville, the GUARDIAN is beginning to break the ice gradually. Here are two subs and an extra $5 contribution. I can do without shoes but I must have the GUARDIAN. Josephine Grezlak

Dollops of dope

BOTHENHAMPTON, DORSET, ENG.

I appreciate your journal immensely. It is a real astringent among the dollops of toxic or sugared (or both?) dope that drowns the moral sense of men. It is a most awful thing that Anglo-America should have broken up FDR's Big Three and thus accomplished the rift between East and West worked for by political Catholicism for the last 30 years. If God is impartial justice, Anglo-America will have to repent of this crime before they and the world can enjoy the "peaceable fruit of righteousness." David F. Thompson

Alien Land

MEXICO, D.F.

(Apologies to Sir Walter Scott)

Breathes there a man with thoughts so red
Who even to himself hath said,
"Can this be mine, this war-mad land?"
Whose heart hath dared within him burn
The sickened soldier home to turn
From slaughter on a foreign strand?
If such there breathe, go, mark him well;
McCarthy, Edgar Hoover tell!
Low though his station, get his name;
Turn stoolie, son, and rise to fame.
The truth? Disdain it; say he sold
State secrets for Joe Stalin's gold.
Strip him of his fair renown,
Bait him, smear him, drag him down.
Let Pat McCarran still his tongue;
Such heretics must not go unhung!

Elliot Clay

The young ones do

Los Angeles columnist Paul V. Coates had one of those gimmick ideas the day Gen. Douglas MacArthur addressed Congress. He scanned through the telephone book and found a Douglas MacArthur listed. He called the number thinking that it would be interesting to find out what Douglas MacArthur thought about Douglas MacArthur. A woman's voice answered. Coates said:

"I'd like to speak to Douglas MacArthur."

"I'm afraid that's impossible," the woman said. "You see, my son is missing in action."

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SPECIAL ISSUE NEXT WEEK:

Korea: one year after

BEFORE we discuss next week's issue, a few words about this week's:

Victories are rare indeed for human rights in America today, and rarer still in the fight to halt state-conducted atrocities against Negroes in the north as well as in the jimcrow south. That is why this issue of the GUARDIAN is given over largely to the smashing victory scored by the progressive elements of America in the case of the Trenton Six.

The victory must give heart to the thousands of Americans who never relent in their fight against injustice and inequality even despite crushing setbacks such as were suffered in the cases of Willie McGee and the Martinsville Seven.

NEXT WEEK'S SPECIAL ISSUE will be devoted to a thoroughgoing review of what one year of war in Korea has meant to the people of America and the world. Also, it will document the growth of a widespread peace movement in America where scarcely any voice but that of the Progressive Party dared to oppose the war from its outset.

We know you can use extra copies of this special issue. The bundle price, for five copies or more, is 2c a copy. Let's have your orders now. —THE EDITORS

"It's some sort of veteran's housing project — for a vet named MacArthur."

Four of the Trenton Six go free; fight goes on

(Continued from Page 1)

said it put him in "a terribly embarrassing predicament."

Alexander began by telling the jury to acquit the defendants because "subversive groups" wanted to see them convicted. He said:

"This is a great opportunity you have to squelch and destroy those malicious propaganda rumors presented unfairly to the world about this great government's treatment of colored people. Isn't it a wonderful thing that God stepped into this case?"

Alexander made one other plea for a collective acquittal verdict when he said: "Don't make widows of the wives—if there are any." (None of the defendants is married.) Thereafter, he concentrated on freeing his two men. He tossed bouquets at Prosecutor Mario H. Volpe, whom he said he "admired as a courageous young man," used the word "culprit" in referring to English. He told the jurors:

"There is no reason under the sun to prosecute McKenzie and Wilson... And there is even a reasonable doubt about some of the others."

VOLPE HELPS: Troubled with his memory, Alexander frequently had to be prompted: both the prosecutor and the judge came to his rescue. He once referred to his client as "Horace Cooper," mis-stated dates and evidence, could not recall names of several high school teachers who had been character witnesses; Prosecutor Volpe supplied them for him.

When he finished, the **Associated Press** reporter who sat next to me commented that any lawyer making a summation like Alexander's should be disbarred. The **AP** man proposed that all reporters covering the trial write a joint letter to the NAACP protesting Alexander's tactics. The suggestion was unhesitatingly accepted by every out-of-town reporter.

NO DIVISION: The prolonged eloquence of Alexander and Katzenbach left Pellettieri, who bore the burden of the defense effort throughout the 70 days of the trial, less than three hours to sum up for the three men he represented. Pellettieri alone insisted the defendants could not be separated; they were either all innocent or all guilty. He refused to be constricted by legalistic concepts of the evidence offered by the prosecution. "I don't represent defendants," he said, "I represent victims"; and throughout his argument he spoke of them only as such.

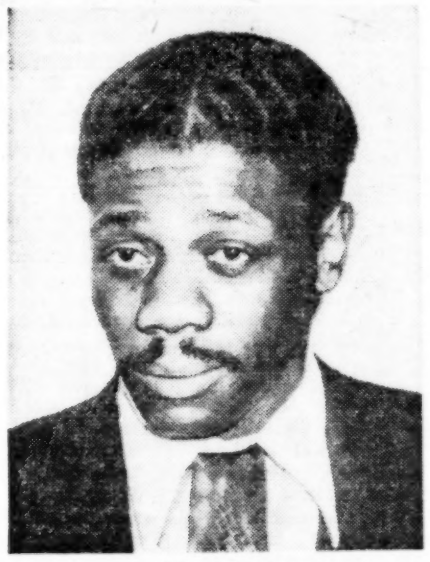
Only from Pellettieri came any direct attack on the prosecution, and suggestion of the deep shame a decent American must feel about what had been done to these six citizens:

"The state is not something that exists in a vacuum. It is you, it is me, it is these six defendants. I must confess my deep shame at what has been produced in this courtroom by the State of New Jersey—my state... I am tempted to say to you, 'Let's not take up any more time with this nonsense.' How can you find any of these defendants guilty when the state doesn't know how this murder occurred? If these six men were not on trial for their lives, I'd think the whole thing was a colossal joke."

NO BARGAINING: Pellettieri went through the nine different versions of the murder offered by the state:

"Like the prosecutor, I don't today, after three months in this courtroom, know upon what theory these men are being tried for murder. By his own lips, Volpe, who has lived with this case for three and a half years, doesn't to this day know how this murder occurred. Why should we pull the chestnuts of someone else out of the fire?"

COLLIS ENGLISH
The fight . . .



RALPH COOPER
. . . goes on

"This is a case where you can't bargain," Pellettieri said at the climax of his argument. "These men all hang or go free together. If you acquit one, you have broken the chain and you must acquit all." With a verse written by Negro poet, Joseph S. Cotter, Sr., he concluded:

"Brother, come!
And let us go unto our God
And when we stand before Him
I shall say—
'Lord, I do not hate,
I am hated.
I scourge no one,
I am scourged.
I covet no lands,
My lands are coveted.
I mock no people,
My people are mocked.'
And, brother, what shall you say?"

THE BUILDUP: Volpe took 5½ hours for his summation for the state. The short, stocky, neatly-groomed, 40-year old Mercer County prosecutor began speaking so softly he was almost inaudible. "As the humble representative of the people of this state," he assured the jurors there was no other issue involved than the guilt or innocence of the men on trial.

For five hours he maintained his calm, polite, courteous, dispassionate attitude of the past 3½ months. But as he reached his emotional peroration he lost control.

What seemed to loom before him was not merely a forgotten murder victim for whose death the law demanded vengeance. Now it was these six men, these six Negroes who had arisen from the grave Trenton "justice" and the press had dug for them, who stood like a mountain between an ambitious man and his dreams. Their mere presence, alive, in this same courtroom where three years earlier they had been sentenced to die in the electric chair, threatened to become the monster that would destroy its Frankenstein.

CALL FOR BLOOD: Volpe worked himself into a frenzy, flaying his arms, his voice rising almost to a shriek. The words poured forth like water from a broken dam:

"We cannot permit them to roam the streets of Trenton and say they sold a bill of goods to a court and jury. Either believe the testimony of these self-confessed murderers, or believe the testimony of police officers who worked so diligently to bring about the apprehension of these criminals and bring in a verdict of murder in the first degree against each and every one of them! The Police Department is deserving of the respect of this County and the respect should be reflected in your verdict! Support your authorities! Protect society from these type of men! The state demands that you say, proudly and courageously: 'We, the men of this jury, find these six defendants guilty of murder in the first degree!' And stop there! That is what the state demands! That is what these men deserve!"

The Last Day

On Wednesday the courtroom doors were locked at 9:50 p.m. For the next two hours, while Judge Smalley delivered his charge, no one was permitted to enter, leave or utter a whisper.

The 56-yr.-old judge told the jury they were sole judges of the facts, and that the state and defense evidence was "in sharp conflict" and "poles apart." He emphasized at several points that "the state must bear the burden of establishing their guilt beyond a reasonable doubt." This did not mean "possible doubt," the judge explained, but that after considering all the evidence they had "an abiding certainty." Nor did this mean the state had to prove the defendants' guilt "to an absolute certainty." Judge Smalley concluded by cautioning the jurors there must be "no passion or prejudice" in their deliberations. He told them they "may not speculate" on the reasons the confessions were thrown out.

The judge's charge was everything one might expect from an honest man who likes being a judge and whose reappointment next year, if it is forthcoming from the governor (whose appointee is also the prosecutor), would provide a lifetime tenure.

TENSION RISES: There was a half-hour conference at the sidebar when defense attorneys entered their objections to the charge. The judge then read into the record that there had been three separate requests submitted to him. The requests for points to be included in the charge for McKenzie and Wilson bore the signatures of Alexander, Katzenbach and Pellettieri, the judge said.

The attorneys returned to their tables. The 14 jurors sat up straight, knowing that two among them would have sat through the lengthy trial and listened to 143 witnesses and examined 126 exhibits to no avail. The spectators, too, suddenly seemed to suggest a collective feeling of tension.

'All right, Mr. Clerk," the judge said with a smile that belied the way everyone, including himself surely, felt. "You may proceed."

Guardian first exposed frameup

(Continued from Page 1)

took up the case and brought it to millions of listeners despite the press blackout. The N. Y. **Daily Compass** came into being about that time and promptly took up the case. So did the **Daily Worker**, the N. Y. **Post** and some liberal magazines.

When the convictions were reversed in June, 1949, the **Times** told all its readers for the first time the details of the case, but disparaged the efforts which brought about the reversal as "Communist-led." Even when the Six were finally saved from death last week, and four of them freed, the **Times** editorial continued to disparage the three-year campaign to free the Six as an example of Communist efforts to "exacerbate race relations."

THE plain facts of the Trenton case are these:

- When the murder for which the Six were finally rounded up occurred, the Trenton police sent squadrons of cops armed with machine gun, into the Negro community of Trenton. An immediate protest was entered by James Imbrie, then chairman of the N. J. Independent Voters (later the N. J. branch of the Progressive Party) against this terrorization of Trenton Negroes: Imbrie's protest was not news for the metropolitan press or the **AP** and **UP**.
- Bessie Mitchell, sister of Collis English (one of the accused), tried unsuccessfully throughout the winter and spring of 1948 to win justice for the Six but was brushed aside (see p. 4).
- Finally, after the trial was over and the Six convicted, Bessie Mitchell found a Civil Rights Congress leaflet in the street and decided to tell her story to this organization, of which she had never heard before. The result was an immediate decision to investigate by the N. J. State CRC.

THE FIRST BREAK: A Trenton newspaperwoman, Millie Salwen, learning that William A. Reuben was planning to submit several civil rights cases to NATIONAL GUARDIAN for attention in our earliest issues, told him of the Trenton case. Reuben's investigation resulted in the first GUARDIAN story, Oct. 25, 1948.

In support of Reuben's findings, the GUARDIAN undertook several steps to focus attention on the case when the rest of the press continued to ignore the story. First, we asked the Civil Rights Congress, despite its heavy load of other cases, to make a national concern of the Trenton case. We informed Paul Robeson of the details and obtained his promise (which he kept) to appear at a mass meeting in Trenton on the case. We laid the details before attorney O. John Rogge and in short order Rogge entered the case on behalf of three of the Six. It was Rogge, along with the CRC legal staff, who won the N. J. Supreme Court reversal of the original convictions.

THIS was the activity which the N. Y. **Times**, **AP** and others of the U. S. free press have presented to their readers as "Red-led agitation," when public interest and pressure finally forced them to cover the story after suppressing it for more than a year.

There's a job still to do

THE Trenton Six would be dead men today if William A Reuben, through the GUARDIAN, had not forced the case to national and international attention.

For one of the most effective jobs in the history of American journalism, William A. Reuben deserves the applause and hearty thanks of everyone in America who is genuinely concerned with human rights and equal justice for the Negro in our democratic society.

You can and should express your satisfaction in a very concrete way:

The job of freeing the Trenton Six is not done: two men remain to be freed, victims of the same frame-up which sought to kill all six. Because the jury recommended mercy (i.e. life imprisonment) in finding the two guilty, the State of New Jersey will not stand the expense of their new appeal. This appeal must be filed within 30 days of last week's verdict or the right to appeal becomes forfeit. It will cost $40,000 merely to print the record of the trial, and perhaps $75,000 to carry the appeal through the courts.

You can express your satisfaction with a job brilliantly done thus far—and your determination to see it satisfactorily finished—by sending at least $1, make it much more if you can, to

Canon Robert D. Smith, Treasurer
The Princeton Committee for the Trenton Six
Diocesan House, 808 West State St.,
Trenton, N. J.

Waiting for the jury: the all-night vigil in the Trenton courtroom

CLERK HARRY FROME twirled the wooden drum with 14 names, then reversed its direction and spun it around again. Then, his hands shaking, he unlocked the drum, reached in and pulled out a white slip of paper, folded in half. He stumbled over the name and finally said:

"Edward B. Kerr, Junior."

That seemed like a good omen. The one rank-and-file trade unionist on the jury took his seat as the No. 1 juror.

The remaining 13, standing uneasily in a row before the jury box turned back to the clerk. Again he reached into the wooden drum and called out, "Number three, Eleanor Weld." Clerk Frome corrected himself and the 30-year-old Princeton librarian took her place as juror No. 2.

NUMBER NINE: Then the clerk proceeded. There was something like a smile of relief on the face of each juror as his name was called.

No. 3: Horace Stevenson, fiftyish, grandfather, steel salesman.
No. 4: Beatrice Doran, 63, housewife.
No. 5: Irene Case, 30, dark, pretty, Canadian-born housewife.
No. 6: Henry Schmidt, middle-aged farmer.
No. 7: Anna Toth, midde-aged housewife.
No. 8: Alyce Spellman, widow of a World War II soldier.

"Number Nine, Horace N. Stevenson," the clerk said. There was a stunning silence, then buzz in the courtroom. Stevenson was sitting in the third seat. The clerk looked bewildered. "Number nine—Horace N. Stevenson," he said again.

Judge Smalley glared down and shouted: "Sit down! Take your time! Sit down and get organized!" He slammed a pencil down.

The clerk, after looking at the slip in his hand and looking at the jury roster alongside of him on the table, suddenly came to. He corrected himself and announced the name of Hubert Kelch, a frozen food saleman.

THE JURY GOES OUT: The three remaining jurors were quickly selected.

No. 10: John J. Kelly, postal superviser.
No. 11: Robert J. Nolan, blond, stony-faced, an assistant engineer for the State of New Jersey.
No. 12: Ruth Boss, middle-aged, Pennsylvania-born, housewife.

AFTER THE VERDICT: DEFENSE AND THE PRESS
In a booth over coffee after the decision: L. to r. facing camera: Ruth Rabstein, assistant to George Pellettieri, A. H. Sulzberger Jr. (N. Y. Times), William A. Reuben (Guardian). Back to camera: James Imbrie, Princeton committee, Henry Beckett (N. Y. Post), Abner Berry (Daily Worker).

The judge nodded to the assistant sheriff and the jurors filed quietly out of the room. The judge waved his arm in a gesture of good will.

It was 12:46 p.m.

You looked toward the two middle-aged women now standing helplessly in front of the empty jury box: Mrs. Ida Cagan, who had seemed sympathetic to defense testimony; and Mrs. Cora Biesecker, a kindly grey-haired woman, who had cried when defense attorney Katzenbach finished his summation.

The defense attorneys looked into the drum, counted the slips of paper, examined each and announced to reporters that they were satisfied the clerk's mistake had been due to nervousness.

THE SETTING: Newspapermen and the attorneys walked out into the corridors, where 25 armed police stood guard. None of the relatives or spectators left their seats immediately. It seemed as if they felt the issues to be so clear that they expected the jury to return with a favorable verdict immediately.

Downstairs, 50 persons lined up for seats. In front of the courthouse and on a side street were six police squad cars, an ambulance, a mobile television unit and a broadcasting van. A dozen cops were in front of the courthouse; 40 more in the downstairs lobby.

The ground floor of the courthouse was swarming with newspapermen and photographers. It seemed a little obscene: the trial itself had been covered regularly by half a dozen out-of-town reporters. Now, like buzzards, the newcomers swelled their ranks tenfold.

The American people would be informed, all right, of the verdict—even though they wouldn't have the faintest notion of the principles involved.

THE WAITING BEGINS: You ate lunch with several of the lawyers and newsmen and discussed the judge's charge, the jurors, the possible vote, your own conclusions, bits of testimony.

Then you went back to the courthouse. How to pass the time? There was a bridge game in the lawyers' room. The sheriff's six-room office was crowded with newspapermen and cops, cluttered with photograph, television and radio apparatus.

The sheriff brought out a couple of bottles which didn't last very long. Again there were discussions about the case. A plainclothesman walked over to the makeshift bar, pulled a revolver out of his pocket, slammed it down on the table and said:

"If any of these niggers gets off, we might as well give up and turn in our badges. Since this case, everything's different. All you have to do is put a finger on any nigger in town and they start screaming about their rights. And with any squawk there's an investigation ordered. Hell, right now you have to treat a nigger more carefully than a white man. If these niggers go free, there won't be any need for a police department in this town."

RAIN IN THE NIGHT: At 4:30 p.m. the courtroom was cleared and the building closed. Only newspapermen, attorneys and relatives of the defendants were allowed to remain.

It was raining steadily; about 100 people stood outside, waiting. At 7 p.m. the courtroom was opened to them and filled up quickly. In the corridors downstairs, 200 more gathered.

A young courtroom attendant talked about the case:

"I'd acquit them all. You know I've gotten to know all these fellows real well in the past three months."

He told you what each of the defendants had said he planned to do on acquittal. All expected to get out.

About 9 p.m. tension began to mount. (The jury that convicted the six defendants three years before had been out eight hours.)

THE LAWYERS: George Pellettieri told you the best to hope for now was a hung jury. None of the other lawyers were available.

Rumors flew wildly. The jury was reported deadlocked, six and six. Angry voices and shouting came from the locked jury room. The jurors got sandwiches and coffee at 3 p.m. and again at 10. They asked for no instructions, sent out no message.

At 10 p.m. members of the prosecutor's staff began circulating worriedly.

Police Sgt. James Creeden, who had worked on the case since the night Collis English was arrested, cornered Pellettieri. He said:

"Whew, am I glad that Mrs. Cagan was not selected. You could tell she was all for the defense. When the clerk pulled out the twelfth name I prayed she wouldn't be chosen."

Chief Frank Naples was in an ugly mood. On the witness stand he had described how he had awakened Horace Wilson to arrest him: "Get up, please, Mr. Wilson." Now, he passed Pellettieri in the hallway and cursed and spat at the defense attorney who had grown up with him in the same Trenton community.

The armed cops downstairs also grew nastier. They seemed to be galled by the intermingling of several hundred Negroes and whites at two in the morning.

Eight white persons, who had driven down from Hackensack, were told by the sheriff, as they got off the elevator to enter the courtroom:

"If you make any kind of demonstration, you'll get your goddam skulls cracked in."

THE FAMILIES: In the second row sat all the relatives, restrained, patient: Thorpe's grandparents, his father and step-mother, his brother and his uncle and their wives; Mrs. Emma English and her granddaughter Jean; McKinley Forrest's motherless 14-year-old girl, his brother and sister-in-law; John MacKenzie's sister and brother. All of them had attended the trial daily, and you wondered in admiration just how much more they could take.

The Verdict

Then, at 7:30 a.m., just as you were going out for coffee, the corridors began to buzz. The jury had sent word that they had reached a verdict.

You raced upstairs, but again there was a delay. Katzenbach couldn't be located. It took an hour to find him. Meanwhile cops kept pouring into the corridors. The courthouse took on the air of an armed camp. The relatives of the defendants were asked to leave the courtroom while the verdict was being announced.

Finally Katzenbach arrived. The attorneys and reporters went into the courtroom. Then the defendants. Their tense expressions made you wonder at the warden's report to newsmen: "They all slept like babies."

The jury entered. Two jurors smiled as they took their places. John Kelly, No. 10, spotted his wife, waved happily.

THE FINDING: The clerk of the court, his voice trembling, asked the jurors to stand and face the defendants.

"Members of the jury, have you reached a verdict?" he asked.

"We have."

Prosecutor Volpe sat with his elbows on the table, looking straight ahead. He never moved throughout the reading of the verdict. Kerr announced:

"We find the defendant Ralph Cooper guilty of murder in the first degree with a recommendation for mercy."

The same finding was announced for English. Then, with an agonizing pause separating the verdict on the other four, Kerr said they were "Not guilty."

"Is there a request for a poll?" Judge Smalley asked.

"None at all, Your Honor," Pellettieri said. "These men at your hands have received a fair trial." His voice broke and he began to sob. "Naturally, I cannot agree with all of the verdict." He made a motion in arrest of judgement and cited four grounds.

THE REASONING: Pellettieri said the verdict was against the weight of the evidence; that "the court should have directed a verdict of acquittal for Collis English and Ralph Cooper at the end of the state's case, and at the end of the entire case"; that the jury acquitted Forrest, the man whom the state's case had depicted as striking the death blow; that admission into evidence of "confessions" by English and Cooper was a violation of their constitutional rights.

Defense attorney Alexander said:

"I want to thank this jury on behalf of 15 million colored people I represent. I know of no case in America that has been

(Continued on following page)

Bessie Mitchell: Trenton heroine

BESSIE MITCHELL, 38-year-old garment worker, received news of the acquittal of four of the Trenton Six in her New York home where she is recovering from a serious operation. Her joy at the news was tempered by realization that perhaps the most strenuous chapter of her 3-year fight to save the Six—one of the epics of our time—lies ahead as soon as she recovers.

Her brother, Collis English, is one of the two convicted men who can only be saved from a lifetime behind bars if support for his and defendant Cooper's appeal can be mobilized immediately and on a tremendous scale.

The story of Bessie Mitchell's fight, starting in Feb., 1948, as a one-woman crusade, was told in the July 5, 1949, issue of the GUARDIAN. In answer to a call from her mother, Mrs. Emma English, she arrived in Trenton, where she was born, less than two hours after police arrested her brother. Of dozens of lawyers she saw, none would defend Collis for less than $2,000. The NAACP, Gov. Driscoll, Negro ministers in Trenton and the FBI rejected her pleas for help; she telephoned every newspaper in N. Y. with no result. Finally she got legal aid from the Civil Rights Congress, publicity from the GUARDIAN—only to learn from those whose help she had asked in vain that the Trenton Six defense was nothing but "a campaign waged by Communists and Left Wing groups" (N. Y. Times) for the greater glory of the Kremlin.

From her sickbed Bessie Mitchell made this statement to the GUARDIAN last week:

BESSIE MITCHELL
The spirit is strong

My brother, Collis English, and Ralph Cooper are innocent. If they were white they would be free today. They shall not rot in jail. I know that all the people who fought for the Trenton Six and helped free four of them won't give up the fight.

American justice is on trial. When does injustice against my people stop? We've just begun to fight.

Thanks to the GUARDIAN and its readers for the wonderful job they did in bringing the story to the people.

BESSIE MITCHELL

After the verdict: the celebration

(Continued from preceding page)

given such painstaking care by the trial judge. [The verdict is] a remarkable tribute to liberality and to the State of New Jersey. This is a great day for America, a great day for that progress, never-ending."

The verdict, Alexander said, was "the best answer that could be given" to subversive groups. "May God bless you to your dying days," he concluded, breaking into tears. As he sat down, he said he joined in supporting Pellettieri's motion.

Katzenbach had to be supported by attorneys Moore and Burrell as he rose to thank the jury. Tears were streaming from his face and he sat down so choked with emotion that he was unable to speak.

JUDGE IS PLEASED: Prosecutor Volpe remained seated. Asst. Prosecutor Lawton got up and in a strained voice opposed Pellettieri's motion.

"The motion for arrest of judgment will be denied," the judge said. Then he smiled to the jury and said:

"There may be those who disagree with you and those who will applaud you. You have done a magnificent job. Again I stand in salute and you are discharged."

The judge declared a 15-minute recess. Alexander brought the prosecutor over to the defendants. They looked bewildered but took the prosecutor's extended hand.

During the recess, Volpe, greatly shaken, said:

"I have ample faith in democratic process of our courts and I accept the verdict in that spirit."

His chief assistant, Detective Chief Naples, said of Pellettieri in the corridor in the presence of half dozen reporters:

"I'll kill that son of a bitch if it's the last thing I do before I die."

OFFER OF SUPPORT: Burrell, NAACP attorney, said:

"I'm sure the NAACP and my co-counsel will support Judge Pellettieri and the Princeton Committee in any further moves in behalf of Collis English and Ralph Cooper."

THE SENTENCING: After the recess, Judge Smalley said:

"Will defendant Ralph Cooper step forward?"

The judge asked Cooper whether he had anything to say and his attorney, Pellettieri, standing beside him, said he would speak in his client's behalf:

"In view of the verdict of the jury which exonerated persons who the state contended actually committed the crime, and the testimony of Mrs. Horner which stated specifically that this defendant was not in the store on the day of the murder, I ask the court not to impose the maximum sentence. I feel this was a compromise verdict."

"Your remarks will be noted," the judge replied. He turned to Cooper and, in a voice that was anything but stern, said:

"Ralph Cooper, the judgment and sentence of this court is that you be imprisoned at hard labor for life in the State's Prison in the manner provided by law."

When Collis English was asked whether he had anything to say, he replied, "No, sir," and Judge Smalley then meted out the same sentence.

On Monday Pellettieri filed a formal motion to set aside the verdict against English and Cooper on 15 grounds characterizing their convictions as a "legal absurdity." Judge Smalley set June 22 at 10 a.m. to hear argument on the motion.

The Jurors

The judge, after English and Cooper were separated from the others and led away, then said:

"Well, ladies and gentlemen, I guess that's about all. I won't be seeing you tomorrow."

Judge Smalley got up and walked to his chambers, and there was a sudden, wild scramble to get out of the courtroom, to the basement where the discharged jurors had been taken to be posed for photographers.

When photographs had been taken, the press was allowed in. Some 20 reporters crowded in and everyone attempted to question the jurors at the same time. We cornered foreman Kerr.

"Boy, it was a terrific wrangle," he said. "We were split every time until the last one."

A reporter then asked how they had reached this compromise, having been split so wide apart.

An under-sheriff, standing alongside the jurors like a watch dog, said, "Don't answer that." Another juror turned to the reporter and said: "Let's not go into that." A third said: "That's too complicated." Kerr added: "That's a long story."

22 BALLOTS: Later, you learned that on the first ballot the jurors were split practically in half: seven to acquit all, five to send all to the chair. It took 22 polls before the verdict was finally reached. At one point in the balloting, 10 voted to acquit all, while two held out for sending all to the chair. One of the jurors for acquittal said:

"We wanted to free all of them, but we were afraid of losing everything by a hung jury. We were afraid of not being able to free any of the defendants by holding out any longer."

Next came the scramble again, with reporters and photographers rushing to to see the freed men leave. On the way over to the jail exit we came upon several of the relatives. Most of them were trying to comfort Mrs. Emma English, whose frail shoulders shook with sobs.

Three generations of the Thorpe family—James Thorpe's grandparents, father, step-mother, brother and uncle—were crowded around Mrs. English telling her that they considered the fight for Collis' freedom their fight. Jean Forrest, whose father was about to be freed, was in tears because of Mrs. English's misery.

Freedom

At the jail, 300 people, waiting to cheer the men on their release, were kept by police on the other side of the street. Only the press and relatives

were allowed on the side on which the men would make their exit.

A youngish, good-looking, well-dressed Negro man made his way along the street and started up the steps to the jail. A roar of greeting went up from the crowd. He was James Minor Sullivan 3d, the physican who had examined the men when they signed "confessions" in February, 1949, and whose startling testimony when he was called as a state's witness was responsible for Judge Smalley excluding from evidence three of the "confessions."

About the verdict Sullivan said: "I feel very proud," and smiled happily.

A few minutes later, the iron jail door opened up; another yell, mingled with applause, came from the assembled gathering.

Trailing behind attorney Alexander, the four freed men came out. There was a brief flurry as they were hugged and kissed by their friends and relatives. Photographers posed them for pictures. And then it was all over. The men rode away with their families in separate cars, the crowd broke up, and another chapter had ended in the fabulous story of the Trenton Six.

The Sequel

Was this to be the last chapter, the end of the story? Before he left, Alexander said he would try to help free the two convicted men, English and Cooper, even, as he said, "if it means working without a fee."

From the jail we went to the ramshackle wooden house on Church St., the house from which three of the Trenton Six had been snatched three and a half years ago. A buffet had been set up with cold-cuts and soda pop. A celebration was in full swing. All four freed defendants were there, none of them quite able yet to accept the reality of their freedom. Mrs. English, too, had recovered from her depressed state.

Whether she actually felt happiness at getting back two of her men, even though her own son was not one of them, or whether she was simply a woman who has known so much suffering as to refuse to let her own in this hour dampen or cramp in any way the joy of others, was a little hard to tell. But she was every bit the hostess, offering her guests something to eat and drink, accepting with dignity their mixed congratulations and comfort.

The four men who had been freed kept telling her that they would continue the fight to free the other two, that they realized the cases could not be separated, and that all of them would stick together until the final victory had been won.

TWO YEARS BEFORE: When I left a little later, I couldn't help contrasting the present scene with one I had experienced some two and half years ago, in the same house, with the same family members. Then I had accompanied William Patterson, CRC executive secretary, who had come down from New York to offer the relatives the support of his organization. Patterson had then warned them that they must stick together and fight together. When he was leaving that grey Sunday in November, 1948—when these humble, defenseless and impoverished people were quite alone, without allies, and quite bewildered by what had happened to them—Mrs. English had asked him to stay and have something to eat with them. Patterson declined then, but he promised that before they were through they would all eat together—including their sons, brothers and kinfolk.

Last week's homecoming was not as complete as all had hoped, but the great day for all Six seemed closer at hand than at any time in the last three bitter years.

To all reader-reporters

Response to our request for newspaper clippings and memos on peace activities, civil rights cases, politics and local news of universal interest has been splendid. Many readers have seen their contributions in the paper, as individual stories, cartoons or part of larger stories.

If we have not acknowledged receipt of your correspondence, we hope you will understand that it is only because we haven't got hands enough for the job. But we read everything with interest and use everything possible. Please keep the stuff coming! THE EDITORS

CALENDAR

Chicago

A SOCIAL EVENING with North Side Committee for Peaceful Alternatives. Musical treat, Sat., June 23, 8:30 p.m. 1234 W. Albion.

ASP PRESENTS first-hand report on Israel and the Middle East. Excellent film and commentary by Boris Steinberg. Fri., June 22, 8 p.m. 75c for members, $1 for non-members, plus tax. See last of ASP Spring film series, Sun., June 24, "The True Glory," 1945 Academy Award winner for documentary production. Mat. 3 p.m. 50c for members, 75c non-members. Eve. 8 p.m., 75c members, $1 non-members. Children, 25c. Prices subject to tax. 946 N. Clark St.

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AT LAST, A PEOPLE'S NITE CLUB in Chicago. Beginning Sat. evening, June 23, from 9 p.m. until ..?, at Packinghouse Labor & Community Center, 4859 S. Wabash Av. Featuring "Stars from the Yards," singers, dancers, and entertainers from the Packinghouse workers and other unions. Prizes to the winners courtesy of UNION PX, discount store at Packinghouse Center. Adm.: 50c, benefit UPWA Children's Programs.

RESERVE SUNDAY, JULY 29th, for the Gigantic Picnic sponsored by the Southwest Chapter Progressive Party, Ryan Woods, 87th & Western, Hilltop Pavilion. Refreshments, Music, Food.

Los Angeles

"BEHIND THE NEWS"—seminar on current events with Martin Hall, noted lecturer and journalist. Every Mon. eve., 8 p.m., Severance Room, 1st Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8 St.

Venice, Calif.

MOONLIGHT & THE GUARDIAN: Beach party at Playa Del Rey Beach (Fire Picnic Area), Venice, Calif. Songs and a Guitar. Hot dogs and Marshmallows. Saturday, June 30, 8:30 p.m. until ..? Donation: 50c or a $1 trial subscription to the GUARDIAN admits two. No need to go alone. To join a car group call: EX 9-1409 or EX 7-3875.

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WAR & PEACE Inflation panic in U.S. —Left holds own in French Election

A score of "latter-day Paul Reveres" (**Wall St. Journal**) rode the press and air waves last week shouting: "Inflation is coming!" Among them was President Truman who told a nation-wide audience: "I represent the consumer." The President, who said "the full force of inflationary pressure is still to come," attacked the NAM for opposing controls.

He did not remind his audience that he had packed the mobilization setup with NAM bigwigs, picked as Economic Stabilizer a onetime president (Eric Johnston) of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, as staunch a foe of price controls as the NAM. Mr. Truman demanded extension of the Defense Production Act—designed, as the **Journal of Commerce** noted recently, not to hold down prices but to guarantee profit margins. He blamed the Soviet Union (where four major price cuts since the war have reduced prices about 60%) for the inflationary situation.

FADING AUDIENCES: In Texas, before "vast expanses" of empty seats (AP), Gen. MacArthur accused the Administration of "socialism" and "moral weakness," called for national "virility."

In Washington the Administration belatedly moved to investigate the China (Chiang Kai-shek) Lobby, one force behind the McCarthy-Martin-MacArthur Axis, even as it pushed all-out for Chiang policy enunciated by Asst. Secy. of State Dean Rusk last month.

Former Defense Secy. Louis Johnson (also associated with the China Lobby) told the Senate Investigating Committees that Secy. of State Acheson first proposed U.S. intervention in Korea, which now "is bleeding us dry." Gen. Albert C. Wedemeyer testified "we are losing our finest manhood there," proposed withdrawal from Korea, a break in relations with the U.S.S.R. and bombing Russo-Chinese railroads.

The **Wall St. Journal**, opposing a break with Moscow, said Wedemeyer "performed a service" in proposing withdrawal — an alternative hitherto "mentioned but hardly discussed." Hanson Baldwin (N.Y. **Times**, June 17), acknowledging recent UN victories were "in no way decisive," said the U.S. "would welcome a cease-fire based on the 38th Parallel."

INSANITY UNLIMITED: But Washington, despite admissions by its generals that they can't win in Korea, still refused to negotiate. The **Wall St. Journal** reported "new plans to press the Korean war," since the Chinese "are made of sterner stuff" than the Pentagon theory that they "will quit if we keep killing enough of them" has allowed. It said the UN may try "a double landing on both sides of Korea's narrow neck."

At the UN, the U.S. pressed for a widening of the embargo on China, was reported by AP as opposed to a cease-fire now. Leon Edel (N.Y. **Compass**) revealed that Secy. Gen. Trygve Lie had proposed to the U.S., Britain and France that the UN seek a military truce in Korea, but bar settlement of other issues such as the fate of Formosa (Taiwan) and China's seat in the UN.

Since China has rejected similar proposals for a military cease-fire—urged several times by the U.S.—UN observers considered the Lie proposals of little avail. Lie urged adjournment of the present "aggressor" Assembly, convocation of a new one to raise additional troops for Korea, if China refused to accept a military truce.

LONDON GIVES IN: British surrender to the U.S. on the terms of the Japanese peace treaty, announced in London last week, indicated increasing British subservience to the U.S. on Far East policy despite deep "mistrust" of that policy (N.Y. **Times**). Britain gave up its demand that Peking have a voice in the treaty and that the treaty reaffirm the Cairo agreement giving Formosa to China.

Vie Nuove, Rome

De Gasperi: "The pulse is most regular!"

In Paris, the three western powers, admittedly afraid to break up the four-power talks before the French elections, tried again to put the onus for failure on the U.S.S.R. Moscow has insisted that the Atlantic Pact and U.S. bases abroad be included in the agenda for the proposed Foreign Ministers meeting, even if only as a "disagreed item." Again rejecting this, the West once more invited the U.S.S.R. to confer in Washington in July on its terms.

The elections

In France, where the cost of living rose 4% in May alone (a yearly rate of almost 50%) the elections offered little solace to the U.S. Incomplete returns showed the Communists still winning the largest number of votes of any party —36.06% in Paris and 23.2% in the provinces. Communist representation in Parliament was cut owing to the rigged elections laws.

With 17 of an expected 25 million votes counted, as the GUARDIAN went to press, these were the results:

	Popular Vote	*% of Vote*	*Parl. Seats*
Communist	**4,406,301**	**25.76**	**101**
Government Coalition	**6,373,952**	**37**	**263**
De Gaullists	**3,564,833**	**20.84**	**113**
Alliance of Peasants & Rightists	**2,409,113**	**11.98**	

Before the vote Raymond Cartier, Washington correspondent of the pro-U.S. Paris **Match** reported the State Dept.'s advance interpretation of the results: If the Communists draw "more than 5,000,000—disaster; between 4 and 5,000,000—serious defeat; between 3 and 4,000,000—modest success; less than 3,000,000—victory."

ITALY — "NEW COURSE": Final results in Italy's municipal and provincial elections found the Communists and left Socialists winning 37% of the vote throughout the country, the ruling Christian Democrats, 31%. Claiming to speak for 42% of the Italian people, Communist leader Togliatti and Socialist leader Nenni demanded representation in the government and a "new course" for Italy.

In both Italy and France the forecast was for right coalitions veering toward fascism and an attempted intimidation of the huge vote against adherence to the Western alliance.

In Britain the split in the Labor Party was growing, with former cabinet minister Aneurin Bevan preparing a manifesto by which he hopes to capture control of the party at its fall convention. At week's end the N.Y. Times' James Reston sighed:

"The political division within the three countries and within the western coalition is confounding the anti-communist coalition and hampering almost all its major programs."

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PEACE

5,000 are expected at Chicago Congress

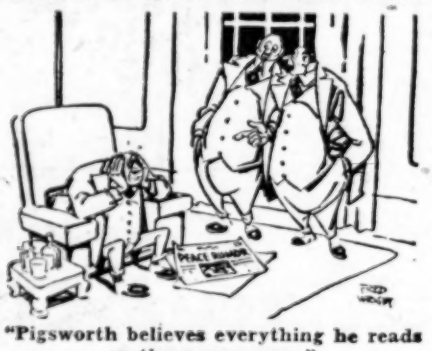
IN 1945 several Cheyenne Indians from Lame Deer, Mont., climbed to a mountain top, remained four days and nights performing ancient tribal rituals for peace. Four months later the war with Japan came to an end. Last week four Cheyennes in South Dakota completed a similar four-day ceremony; their leader, whose son is fighting in Korea, reported a vision of a blue flame hovering over a blue cloud above a peaceful valley—a good omen.

Organized groups meanwhile concentrated on preparations for the June 29-July 1 People's Peace Congress in Chicago sponsored by the American Peace Crusade, and on mustering support for the Sen. Edwin Johnson (D-Colo.) resolution calling for a cease-fire in Korea June 25, first anniversary of the war.

CHICAGO PLANS: The American Peace Crusade moved its main offices to Chicago at 166 W. Washington St., and was arranging housing, food and transportation for the 5,000 or more expected delegates. A special train for East Coast delegates was scheduled to leave New York's Penn Station on Thurs., June 28, at 6:40 p.m. Daylight Saving Time, with a round-trip fare of $45. On return the train will leave Chicago Sun., July 1, at 2:45 p.m. and arrive in New York 9:30 a.m. Monday. Tickets can be obtained from APC, Room 1222, 1186 Broadway, N. Y. Plans include a special bus from New York, leaving Thursday morning (round trip: $28.50).

Preparations for the congress are centered on making June the month of peace and include every possible form of public activities. An eastern seaboard leaders' meeting brought attendance from four states; a Michigan Peace Roundup had delegates from 11 cities.

DELEGATES: The huge Ford Local of the United Auto Workers Union in Detroit had elected 80 delegates to the congress, with a final total of 200 expected. Other unions to elect delegates included the Chicago Council of the CIO United Packinghouse Workers and the executive board of the Intl. Fur & Leather Workers. In Chicago the Cook County exec. committee of the Progressive Party voted to participate in the congress as an organization, elected itself to represent the county organization; more than 100 additional delegates were expected from the wards.



"Pigsworth believes everything he reads in the newspapers."

American Legion officials and others in Chicago were pressing the management of the Coliseum to cancel the contract for the congress; APC leaders planned a delegation of representative citizens to counteract the move.

JOHNSONIANS: Newspapers continued their silence on the Johnson resolution, but peace workers got the word around. Rep. Thor C. Tollefson (R-Wash.) had not heard about it until a constitutent sent him a copy; he promptly endorsed it. A Tacoma, Wash., organization known as Citizens Aroused announced it would buy a full-page ad in a local paper to break the silence.

In Pittsburgh, Dist. 6 of the United Electrical Workers representing ten large locals voted unanimous endorsement of the resolution. More than 1,000 Edison Co. workers of Orange, N. J., sent a delegation to Washington to present petitions to Sen. Johnson backing his plan. The Progressive Party of the District of Columbia circulated Johnson plan petitions and urged letters to Sen. Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, calling for public hearings. The Illinois Committee for Peaceful Alternatives invited Johnson to address a public hearing.

METHODISTS AND HUSBANDS: A poll of workers at the Chicago plants of U.S. Steel and Republic Steel found 92% favoring an immediate end of the Korean war, 85% for a Big Five negotiated peace. The 111th annual session of the New England Southern Methodist Conference went on record for a negotiated peace. In Englishtown, N. J., an organization known as Women for Peace got so busy another organization called Husbands of the Women for Peace was formed to help out. In Asbury Park, N. J., 95 leaders of the region placed a large ad in the local paper urging a Korean cease-fire and Big Five negotiations.

The State of Vermont was to have a peace conference called by the president, vice-president and counsel of National Life Insurance Co., Pres. Pitkin of Goddard College and a number of clergymen. No agenda was planned; interested persons were invited "to speak of their feelings for peace and to work more actively for peace."

"THE ONLY JUDGES": While Dr. W. E. B. DuBois made a speaking tour in behalf of the Chicago Congress, the World Fedn. of Teachers, representing 3,500,000 members, protested his indictment for not registering as a foreign agent while he headed the Peace Information Center. In St. Paul, Minn., Dr. DuBois announced his intention to keep on speaking about "peace and more of it." He told an overflow rally there:

> "There is no real threat of war from Russia—Russia has plenty to do in holding and developing her own country."

In McKeesport, Pa., a local radio station canceled an APC broadcast in support of the Johnson plan. The Un-American Activities Committee summoned for a June 29 appearance Dr. Ruth Bleier of Baltimore, chairman of the Maryland Committee for Peace, one of the most effective peace groups in the country. Said Dr. Bleier:

> "It is an attack against all who seek peace as the way of life. Our committee may be one of the first to feel the attack, but if this attack is not answered by all of us, none will be secure, be they Quakers, be they ministers . . . be they rabbis . . . be they individuals working to safeguard the future of our families and of our country through peace. The only judges we recognize are the people of Baltimore who have supported the position of our committee time after time."

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BOOKS Some new pamphlets you should know about

By Cedric Belfrage

A LOT of people are angry about a lot of things now going on in America. Because they want their fellow citizens to know the facts and the proposals for setting wrongs right, and because the "free" press is almost entirely barred to them, they put their best brains together, pass the hat and set forth their case in a pamphlet.

Here are some recent pamphlets on national and local issues you should know and tell your friends about.

Discrimination

"Here we are not afraid to follow truth wherever it may lead," wrote Jefferson in founding the University of Virginia at Charlottesville; but today, alongside of this nobly dedicated and landscaped institution, "the Negroes are trapped" in "rotten and overpriced" slums. Charlottesville is one of ten representative U. S. communities surveyed in the pictorial pamphlet **Discrimination in Housing** (Public Affairs Committee, 22 E. 38th St., N. Y. C. 16; 30c), which emphasizes that "the nation's largest ghettos are not in New Orleans or Atlanta but in Chicago and New York"; insists on recognition of "the right of minorities to live anywhere they choose"; points out that "the world judges us by what we do, not by what we say."

• A distinguished group of Californians sponsors **Yours for a Genuine Brotherhood** (Arts, Sciences & Professions Council, 1586 Crossroads of the World, Hollywood 28, Calif.; 15c)—a survey of discrimination in the health field in Los Angeles which might have been made with similar results in almost any U. S. community. Hospitals were sent a questionnaire, asked to speak for themselves on the record of health care and professional opportunities available to Negroes and Mexican-Americans as compared with those available to whites. Most never answered, but the statistics (for example) of tuberculosis deaths in minority and majority groups, and of minority admissions to medical schools, tell a plain story. The survey also documents discrimination in the medical profession against women, whom most schools admit on a tiny quota basis. In L. A. County only 5% of Medical Assn. members are women.

Loyalty

Progressives not only in California, but in other states where similar legislation exists or threatens, can make effective use of **California's New Loyalty** (text and analysis of the Levering "loyalty oath" act) and **Seek Not Loyalty With a Sword**, a forthright demolition job by Carey McWilliams on loyalty oaths in general. The former is free from the Fedn. for Repeal of the Levering Act, 435 Duboce Av., San Francisco 17; the latter, 10c from the Joint Action Council for Repeal of the Levering Act, 1026 Market St., San Francisco.

Death on the Railroads

In **Tragedy, Unlimited**, the Long Island Transit Committee of the American Labor Party (260 Front St., Hempstead, L. I.; 10c) has done a masterly text-and-picture job of exposing, from "dusty official files," the corruption and grand larceny behind recent disasters on the Long Island and Pennsylvania railroads. Facts and figures show commuters how they are being taken for a ride—possibly to death or lifelong mutilation — by the profit-greedy roads. "We cannot restore the dead, but we can act to protect the living": commuters lucky enough to have survived thus far will be protected if they face these facts and join up for action. The solution, says the pamphlet, is public ownership.

A Good Answer

"To the familiar argument that 'the American people are not ready for socialism,' I answer, 'how and when will they be made ready, if socialism is not taught?'" Thus Leo Huberman in his contribution to the meaty yet easily digested pamphlet **Socialism Is the Only Answer** (Monthly Review, 66 Barrow St., N. Y. C. 14; 25c). Huberman outlines basic socialist doctrine, pointing out that spreading this gospel cannot replace, but must supplement, the struggle on immediate issues; Paul Sweezy, his fellow-**Monthly Review** editor, outlines a socialist economic program for America, showing the fallacy of Keynesian "progressive capitalism"; and finally comes a reprint of **MR**'s dynamic May, 1951, editorial using U. S. "leaders'" actions and words to prove the hollowness of all protestations about "morality" under capitalism. Again the **MR** team has effectively filled the almost total vacuum that now exists in the area of bringing the socialist solution to Americans without hedging and in acceptable terms.

Russia—seen and unseen

In the heat of all the word-slinging about the countries where the socialist answer has been accepted, many have despaired of identifying the truth, nailing the lies. Persons whose thinking machinery still works can find helpful raw materials in two sets of pamphlets now circulating:

• **Soviet Impressions**, by Dr. John A. Kingsbury (20c), **Seeing Is Believing** (5c), **Is There Freedom of Religion in the Soviet Union?** (5c); Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32d St., N. Y. C. 16.

• **Labor & the Soviet System** (5c), **The Soviet Peace Myth** (5c); Natl. Comm. for a Free Europe, 301 Empire State Bldg., N. Y. C. 1.

We would not mention the second set (presumably forerunners of many more from the same uranium-lined stable) were they not such prize examples of self-revealing nonsense for anyone applying sober judgment. They consist partly of outright fabrications and partly of elaborate demonstration that (a) workers in Eastern Europe and the U.S.S.R. are working extremely hard, and (b) "red" governments are putting the greatest efforts into propaganda for peace. By simply stating that the workers are not working for themselves but for a "new communist aristocracy", and that when "red" governments say "peace" they mean "war", they cast a sinister beam of light through an iron curtain that isn't there.

The authors are an unidentified Romuald Szumski and an American press correspondent, Leon Dennen, introduced as a "keen observer" in Europe (of what, it is not said) who has "lectured extensively." Much is said about "rumblings of discontent" under the Soviet system; sponsors of the pamphlets are the very Americans (W. J. Donovan, Allen Dulles, DeWitt Poole etc.) who have spent and are spending your tax money to stir up such discontent by bribery, corruption and infiltration — plus labor-splitting James B. Carey who but a few years ago reported enthusiastically on his own trip to Russia.

Authors of the other set of pamphlets—a tool and die maker, a doctor, an office worker, a farmer, a minister, etc.—have no authority to speak other than extensive travels "behind the curtain" last December. They were bombarded with propaganda about peace. For a more thorough answer to the nonsense about Soviet "slave labor", read British lawyer D. N. Pritt's article in the May **New World Review** and the British workers' delegation pamphlet **Russia With Our Own Eyes** (Collets, 66 Charing Cross Rd., London, W. C. 2.; 20c).

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CLASSIFIED

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